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HUMAN RIGHTS
AND
SOCIAL JUSTICE

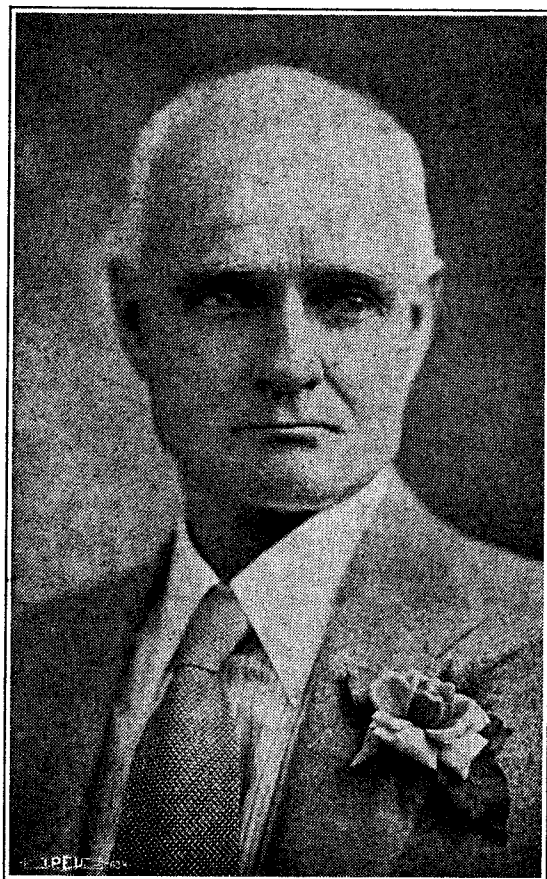


The Maiden Address
of
Lewis St. George
STUBBS

Delivered in the Legislature of Manitoba on
February 25th

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Lewis St. George Stubbs

Speech of Lewis St. George Stubbs

**Independent Member for Winnipeg, in the Legislative
Assembly of Manitoba, on the Debate on the Speech
from the Throne.**

Mr. Speaker:

In making this my first speech in this Legislature, I am keenly conscious of the critical interest with which it is awaited, by both friend and foe alike. I hope to disappoint neither. But be that as it may, I shall speak my thoughts and voice my convictions, as I see fit, as I am wont to do.

Let me say at the outset that I shall endeavor to perform and discharge my legislative duties as faithfully and as fearlessly as I did my judicial duties. And, as completely independently. The only pledge and obligation I am under to anybody is:

"To advocate and support what I consider right; to denounce and oppose what I deem wrong, without fear, affection or favor, according to my ability and judgment, guided by my reason and conscience."

My whole political platform is:

Human Rights and Social Justice.

CONGRATULATIONS TO SPEAKER

I wish first to congratulate you, sir, on your election to your honourable and ancient office. It is interesting to note that the first person to receive the title of Speaker was Sir Thomas Hungerford in 1377. He and his successors were called Speakers, because it was their duty to voice the wishes of the members of the house to the King. As is well known, the Speaker takes precedence of all commoners in the Kingdom. As we are all commoners in Manitoba, you thus become our first citizen, which is a better title. The Speaker of the British House of Commons is made a viscount and pensioned on retirement. You, Sir, will get neither on your retirement. But my hope and my wish is that when that time comes, you will retire with the personal consciousness and the general recognition of an important job well done. The Speaker, of course, takes no part in party politics during his

term of office. When you retire, may it be with the plaudit: "Well done! thou good and faithful speaker. Enter thou into the joys of opposition."

THE SCOTCH MINISTER WHO READ HIS SERMON

Sir, I know that it is not good parliamentary form to read speeches in the House. But, I propose to ask the indulgence of the members, for special reasons of my own which I need not mention, to read a good part of what I shall have to say this afternoon.

However, I never read or hear anything read to an audience without being reminded of the story of the Scotch minister who read his tribulation sermon, whatever that might mean, to his congregation. Personally, all sermons are tribulations to me. I can only presume it meant a call sermon.

The minister wanted to make a particularly favorable impression and had taken great pains in the preparation of his sermon. He delivered it in his most solemn and impressive manner. But he read it from his manuscript. On the way home after the service in company with the deacon he asked that worthy how he had liked his sermon, who replied that he hadn't liked it at all. The minister was surprised and disappointed and inquired the reasons why. The deacon answered: "I have three objections to your sermon. First, you read it; secondly, you read it badly; and thirdly, it wasn't worth reading at all."

Sir, I shall have to take my chances with the members of this House on those criteria.

TRIBUTE TO SIR RODMOND P. ROBLIN

Next, in passing, I wish to add my tribute of praise and esteem to those which have been rendered by former speakers to the late Sir Rodmond P. Roblin and Dr. David A. Stewart. They were both great men in their respective and widely different spheres of action. They were both great public servants and both have left fine records of solid and substantial achievement and their good works live after them. The circumstances of Sir Rodmond's retirement from public life were unfortunate. But he bore his misfortunes bravely like a man and came through them creditably. He thus showed himself as great in defeat as in victory. And he who can do that is truly great. He was a skillful leader, a doughty champion of any cause he espoused, and in-

spired great confidence and loyalty in his followers. He filled a large place in the life of this province and has left an honored name in its annals.

TRIBUTE TO DR. DAVID A. STEWART

Dr. Stewart was that all too rare type of man—one who excels in his own business, profession or occupation and in important outside interests as well. Eminent in his own profession, he was also distinguished in other and varied fields of public activity. He was fortunately blessed in having a wife no less devoted and distinguished in her way than he in his. Both spent themselves in the service of others. Both may be said to have died before their time, But

We live in deeds not years: in thoughts, not breaths;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.

We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

Bailey—Festus. Sc. A Country Farm

TRIBUTE TO LATE TOBIAS CRAWFORD NORRIS

I also wish to endorse all that was said in this Legislature the other evening in eulogy of the late Tobias Crawford Norris.

I was privileged to know him well, and for years acknowledged him as my political leader. He was a man of most amiable disposition and lovable character. These qualities gave him a genius for friendship, and his friends were legion.

He gave this province the best government it has ever had, and put upon its statute books the best legislation it ever had. Unfortunately, he lived to see a good part of his good work undone by his successor. But no name of any public man in the history of this province is more affectionately remembered by those who knew him. He also is assured of his honored place in the history of Manitoba and of Canada.

REVIEW OF PARTIES OR GROUPS IN LEGISLATURE THE LIBERAL PARTY

Next, may I pay my respects, or otherwise, to the various parties and groups represented in this House. First, to the Liberal party, or to the memory of it. For it is in reality an obituary notice. The Liberal party, the party to which I gave my first

political love and allegiance—what might be called my calf political love.

I said during the election campaign last summer:

"The Bracken Government first came into office in 1922. In the course of its history it has paraded under various names. Its latest alias is Liberal-Progressive, than which there could be no greater misnomer, for it is neither liberal nor progressive in any true sense of these terms. After much planning and plotting the political matchmakers finally succeeded in arranging a marriage of convenience—as the French say—between a section of the Liberal party—for the fusion is only partial—and the aggregation that seeks a mandate to misgovern this province.

"The official Liberal party in this province has for some time played the ignoble and ignominious role of the tail on the Bracken dog. Its managers and manipulators have betrayed it. Now, when the opportunity presents itself for it to come into office, it has lost its identity and bartered its integrity. Bracken has scored by this political marriage of convenience."

I apply to it the lament of Anthony over the body of Caesar:

"O mighty Party! dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure? Fare thee well."

Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Act III Sc. 1.

THE BRACKEN PARTY

I come now to the Liberal-Progressive Party, as it calls itself. It could more properly be called the Bracken party. I have indicated my view of it in what I have already said. But during the election campaign I made this statement:

"When the tyrant Dionysius ruled the Island of Syracuse the old women of the Island prayed that he might reign forever lest the Devil should be his successor. Manitoba need have no fears about Bracken's successor. He will not and cannot be worse."

I am still of that opinion.

Government is a trust and the officers of the government are trustees, and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people. The people were entitled to the information about the University Trust Funds as soon as known to

their trustees. The Bracken Government betrayed their trust and obtained office under false pretences in 1932.

In 1936 they obtained office largely through a snap election, after having lulled their opponents into a sense of false security by repeated declarations that there would be no election last year. Two more weeks of campaign last year, and the party of the hon. the leader of the Opposition would have had at least the four additional seats which he estimated would have brought his party into power.

The Winnipeg Tribune last year gave the Government a clean bill of health and supported it in the election. Since the election it has almost gone into hysterics trying to bring about a coalition between it and the Conservative Party.

On the 1st October, 1932, The Tribune published the following short but snappy editorial, under the caption

No Title to Office

"The Government of the Province of Manitoba stands convicted, by sworn and documentary evidence, of concealing information regarding the loss of the University trust funds until it could win an election.

"It holds office and its members receive the emoluments of office by virtue of an election obtained under false pretences.

"It has no more title to office than John A. Machray has to the positions of trust he formerly occupied.

"It should resign forthwith."

I agreed with that editorial then. I agree with it now. And I have agreed with it ever since.

Did these government leopards change their spots between 1932 and 1936?

Or what happened to the Winnipeg Tribune?

The same Government—the same Paper.

The same Paper—the same Government.

Sir, there is an adage, a homely saw or familiar saying: "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear." That may be considered the colloquial version. But in my reading recently I came across what might be considered the classical version: "There is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct from leaden instincts." Truly an aphoristic gem.

While I might say that this government is "All wet,"

because of the floods of beer that floated them into office, I will content myself with saying they are "All lead," and let it go at that.

The Conservative Party

I congratulate the comparatively youthful leader of this party on his selection as leader of one of what we call the two old historical political parties. Historical they are, but in the process of political evolution they will become like the vermiform appendix—vestigial. There is something sad in seeing a promising young man turn to Conservatism. But he is young, and there is hope. At his age, I was a Liberal. At my age, he may be a Socialist. I hope he will. If he will accept a left-handed compliment, I might tell him that I hoped his party would win the election. Not because I have any love for the Conservative Party or its principles. But because I considered his party, in the given circumstances, the lesser evil of the two parties who stood any chance of winning the election, that is, in the sense of forming the government.

I remain of that opinion still, despite the fact that his speech on Monday night showed that he has no fundamental conception of the causes of our economic troubles, and still less of their remedies.

Sir, ever since the election persistent attempts have been made to effect coalition between the Government and the Conservative Party. Both our daily papers have been consistently urging it. We are not now to have coalition, but we are to have cooperation—a blessed compromise.

And so the punches of the Leader of the Opposition have been pulled, and he treated us to a fine exhibition of shadow-boxing on Monday.

Why? Whence? and Wherefore?

Orders from the invisible government, Mr. Speaker. That invisible government referred to in the following quotation, not from any Bolshevik like me, but from the late President Woodrow Wilson:

"A comparative small number of men control banks, prices and the larger credits of the country; secret private interests have been running the Government, by, of and for "Big Business." Yes, an Invisible Government has erected itself above the forms of democracy."

Likewise, the Right Hon. James Ramsay McDonald:

"A meeting of half a dozen men can thwart any parliamentary majority. Our economic life depends more and more on the goodwill of a group who can hold an executive meeting in the back seat of a Rolls Royce car.

"As a result of this domination by the financial machine governments in the great countries of the world are helpless to help the great masses of the people to a proper standard of living and existence."

Sir, as a general proposition to me these two old parties are as much alike as tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. I cannot understand why the honorable member for Winnipeg, Mr. Litterick, should have drawn such a distinction between them in his speech yesterday afternoon. I do not see why he should present an olive branch to the Bracken party and a bayonet to the Conservative party. I said while campaigning in 1933 that these two old parties were simply the two wings of the evil bird of Special Privilege.

And that is how I still view them. It is a case of which is the lesser evil at any given time.

C.C.F.—Labor Party

This party is to be congratulated upon increasing its numbers in the House and upon obtaining some rural representation. While the party has made some progress outside Winnipeg, it is losing ground within it, for reasons which the public obviously understand, but which its managers do not appear to comprehend.

The Communist Party

This party has secured its first representative in any Canadian Legislature, and I congratulate the honorable member for Winnipeg sitting on my right on his election. It is a significant, and in my opinion, prophetic fact that he polled the second largest vote in the City of Winnipeg. While there was much in his speech yesterday that puzzled me, I certainly want to congratulate him on the sincerity and humanity of it.

The Social Credit Party

Monetary reform has been an issue for a long time. In recent years a form of it has had quite a vogue under what is

known as "Social Credit." Political parties have been organized everywhere to advocate and propagate it, and that party in this province elected five representatives to this Legislature, all from rural constituencies.

Following the election the elected representatives of the party met in caucus at Dauphin and selected the honorable member for Gilbert Plains, Dr. Fox, as their leader. Then a strange thing happened. The deferred election at The Pas had not yet been held and the campaign was then in progress.

According to the press reports (the only source of my knowledge)—although all these five members had been elected as anti-Bracken candidates—their leader, in what would appear to be at least indecent haste, hied himself away to The Pas to bargain and barter like a common huckster with the Premier over political support. Sir, there have been few more disgraceful and disgusting episodes in the political history of this province—discreditable and degrading alike to both parties. We do not know what political truck or trade was made between these parties. And we may never know. There is a welter of conflicting reports. We can only conjecture what happened. The honorable the First Minister says neither party has compromised any of its principles. Sir, on this showing, they have none to compromise, and there is no difficulty in believing him this time.

Criticism of Social Credit

Before proceeding to deal with the Speech from the Throne and the speech of the honorable the Premier thereon, I would like to say a few words on Social Credit itself. It is offered as a safe and painless alternative to Socialism. It therefore behooves all Socialists to thoroughly examine and investigate it.

Social crediters frequently complain that Socialists have not given their proposals the careful and expert scrutiny they deserve. They often quote Herbert Spencer, as saying:

"There is a bar against all information, which is proof against all argument, and which cannot fail to keep man in everlasting ignorance. This principle is condemnation prior to examination."

I attended a meeting on Sunday afternoon last, addressed by Mr. Halliday Thompson, M.A., F.R.E.S., announced as the "Ambassador of Social Credit Party of United Kingdom." The

speaker kept on emphasizing this principle: "No condemnation without investigation." In the spirit of investigation I had gone there, I thought this Ambassador might enlighten me on Social Credit. I came away no wiser than I went.

I might be told that the fault is mine. Perhaps it is. But I have, at least, not condemned without examination, and I am of average intelligence and mentality. But, while fully conscious of the evils of our monetary system, to use the common phrase, I can't "see" Social Credit as their solution.

Likewise, I got no enlightenment as to the working of Social Credit from the speech of the leader of that party in this House. I was very interested and amused in reading the witty criticisms of J.B.M. in "Under the Dome" yesterday. His concluding paragraph reads:

"Up to this point the earnest doctor had everyone with him, but the rest of his speech was pure Social credit abracadabra. Dr. Fox has swallowed whole the bright lexicon of Major Douglas, as simplified to the ABC of absurdity by Mr. Aberhart. He wants 'credit' created to 'equate production and consumption, and the method is to be the issuing of 'basic dividends.' The patter is already familiar and this House will certainly hear more of it. But it is clear from Dr. Fox's mildness that he does not expect Social Credit overnight in Manitoba. He offered co-operation to Mr. Bracken, no Aberhartian, in as friendly a way as Mr. Bracken could wish."

The honorable member for Winnipeg, Mr. Queen, asks what "abracadabra" means. I will tell him. I went to my Standard Dictionary to find out and found it defined as follows: "A cabalistic word written in various forms, anciently used as a prophylactic or curative charm; hence, any jargon of conjuring or nonsensical words."

I rather suspect J.B.M. was apter in his characterization than perhaps he knew, for I find the derivation of the word to be from "Ab, Ben, Ruach Acadosh, Hebrew for Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

And, in so far as Mr. Aberhart is concerned, in my opinion he is a religious fanatic and economic charlatan.

The social credit proposition is alluring and deceptive. The attraction of the scheme is that it builds upon the economic

paradox of "the curse of plenty," "poverty in abundance," but professes to give us Utopia "without tears."

However, Social Credit is not merely an economic heresy. It is largely a psychological question. A distracted people are seeking a way out of their difficulties. Social credit must find some fundamental criticism of Capitalism, and some panacea other than Socialism. Social Credit theory is what the psychologists call an "escape mechanism," an elaborate way of avoiding the issue.

The Social Credit scheme is only another formula "to secure a social organization of production and distribution within the conditions of capitalist property ownership and production for profit—in other words, to square the circle."

To quote from "Douglas Fallacies," by John Lewis, B.Sc., Ph.D.:

"Unfortunately the Douglasite is as far as ever from seeing that social distribution of the national dividend cannot take place until social ownership of the productive apparatus has been achieved."

"He is still trying, at one and the same time, to maintain individual appropriation of the product by the private owners of capital and to secure its widest social distribution. The essence of the Douglas Scheme is this attempt to have it both ways, to dodge by a financial trick the inevitable consequences of capitalism. It is something, however, to get such consequences admitted for the first time."

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

I come now to the Speech from the Throne and the Speech of the honorable the First Minister in the debate on the address in reply thereto. Usually the Speech from the Throne is an anemic affair. But there is some red blood in this one. I only hope to see it transfused into the body of concrete useful legislation.

I wish to touch upon certain constitutional questions:

First: Mr. Speaker, this House has been called together six months later than it ought to have been. As soon as the composition of the House was completed, following the election, it was the duty of the Premier to have taken steps to assemble the Legislature to determine his position and his right to carry on the government. The people had denied him the mandate he sought.

It was then his duty to obtain one from the Legislature, if he could. The basis of our cabinet system of government is majority support in parliament. The Premier had no right to assume that he could command such support. Indeed, he doesn't yet know that he can. But, constitutionally, that question should have been settled months ago.

Sir, the Premier is fortunate that the late Sir James Aikins was not the Lieutenant-Governor of this Province last fall. If he had been, he would most certainly have questioned the right of the government to carry on, and Manitoba would have had a constitutional crisis of its own.

The honorable the First Minister has for years treated this Legislature like a school. But in moving the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne he excelled himself in that respect. The school master could not trust one of his own class to say his given piece properly, so he needs must do it himself. And so we were treated to the lecture he delivered last Friday.

In that lecture in outlining what he called his "new procedure" he propounded some strange, startling and subversive constitutional doctrine. Although leading a minority government, he very condescendingly informed us upon what terms and conditions he would graciously be pleased to consider himself defeated. He reserved to himself to exercise himself the inherent constitutional right of this House—a right he can neither give nor take away.

"Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed,

That he is grown so great?"

Let me again tell the Premier that he can carry on the government of this province only so long, and no longer, than he can command majority support in this House on any issue that may come before it.

Premier's Congratulations

Now for a personal matter. The Premier congratulated me on my election, complimented me on what he called my "eminent qualifications" and referred to the record vote with which I was elected. I wish he had not done so, for he has considerably embarrassed me. I do not want to be boorish or to appear discourteous. I can only thank him. But in all honesty and sincerity

without being hypocritical, which I do not want to be, I cannot reciprocate.

Significance of Record Vote

The Premier having referred to my record vote, I will do so further. Sir, there are two sides to every question, and I wonder if he has really considered the significance and the implications of my vote. Looked at from any point of view, the record vote polled for me was a thunderous condemnation of him and his government. Every endorsement of me carried with it the condemnation of this government. The only conclusion from the overwhelming support given me by all sections and classes of the people is that they were satisfied that I had served the public interest faithfully in the past and would do so in the future. In other words, they endorsed my record and voted confidence in me. Conversely, they condemned the government's record and voted want of confidence in it.

There were ten members to be elected for Winnipeg out of a field of twenty-one candidates. In addition to the 24,805 first choices I obtained, I got as many seconds, and also many thirds, fourths and so on. In fact, the vast majority of the Winnipeg electorate voted for me to represent Winnipeg within the first ten choices. The thing was almost unanimous.

A friend of mine sent me a few days ago through the mail some calculations he had worked out on my vote. He shows that I polled 2,703 more first votes than the whole Bracken Cabinet combined. This after allowing the honorable the Provincial Treasurer, 1,200 votes, which is more than he would have got had he had to contest his election. The calculation also shows that practically as many people voted for me as for the whole of the government following in this House.

Entitled to Rights of Leader of Party

In view of this situation, I was much amused over the discussion and the debate in this House as to the limitation of time I should be allowed to speak and whether I could be considered the leader of a party. Sir, I submit that if Mr. Litterick with his 5,864 votes is to be considered the leader of a party, I am entitled also to be so considered. If Mr. Farmer with his 1,969 first choice votes, requiring 2,564 second choices from me to be elected, is a leader entitled to speak for more than forty minutes.

then I ought to be. I submit that I am as much entitled to be considered the leader of a party as they are.

No Judge Stubbs

One other matter as far as the Premier is concerned. He has referred to me several times as Judge Stubbs. Sir, the Premier knows I am not Judge Stubbs. I am he that was. Nobody knows better than the Premier and his government why I am not Judge Stubbs. I no longer feel honored in being called "Judge Stubbs." In future, plain Mr. Stubbs, if you please.

Bracken's Finances

In moving the Reply to the Speech from the Throne the honorable the First Minister devoted most of his time and attention to the debts and finances of the Province. In fact, he made what the honorable the leader of the Opposition aptly characterized as a "budget speech." He asserted and the press reports state that the Province is paying its way except for moneys borrowed from the Dominion to pay unemployment relief.

Having taken the trouble to make some study of Manitoba's financial record during the Bracken regime, I make the categorical statement that Manitoba has not been paying its way as alleged, and that the Premier's statement and the press reports that it has must be discounted, and discounted heavily, as I shall show. I, therefore, propose to devote some time and attention to Manitoba's financial position and to give some figures. But every figure I shall quote is taken from the Public Accounts of the Province and can easily be verified by reference thereto. Any member of this House who cares to do so can get out his Public Accounts and check me as I proceed.

The last Balance Sheet printed in the Public Accounts by Bracken's predecessors in office was of date 30th November, 1921, and the Province's Cumulative Deficit on Current Account at that time was \$565,468.60; meaning, according to the management of the Income and Expenditure of the Province its affairs were in the hole to that extent.

As stated a moment ago, the Premier claims that up till now, Manitoba has been PAYING ITS WAY, except for relief.

According to the Balance Sheet in the Public Accounts

published as of 30th April, 1936, this Cumulative Deficit Account has increased by only \$205,076.36, as the total Cumulative Deficit (loss) now shown is \$770,544.96. See pages 36 and 37 of the Public Accounts.

The Bracken Government has been running the affairs of this Province some years now—nearly 15 years—and if the claims of the Premier, that Manitoba has been paying its way, were in accordance with the facts, a loss of \$205,076.36, over that period, would not and should not cause great alarm. But why is this House and the public asked to swallow such rot and worse than rot as that "Manitoba has been paying its way?" That's an every day expression and should require no explanation or elucidation. It certainly does not mean borrowing or bonusing to make both ends meet. And yet that is what has been done. That is exactly what the Public Accounts show.

Deficits which are shown in the Revenue and Expenditure schedules at the end of the Fiscal year 30th April, 1931, and at the end of the Fiscal year 30th April, 1932, making a total of \$3,076,423.28 for the two years and which amount appears in the Deferred Subsidy Account on page 217 Public Accounts, 30th April 1936, do not appear in the Statement of Current Surpluses and Deficits on page 36 and 37 in the 30th April, 1936, Public Accounts. Why? Because the Deficits had been made up by the transfer of Cash to the "Pay its way" (Current Account) for the respective years; \$619,287.49, the loss at the end of the Government year, 30th April, 1931 and \$2,457,135.79, the loss at the end of the following year 30th April, 1932, a total, as already stated of \$3,076,423.28. The transfer of this huge sum was made from the amount received from the Dominion Government at the time of settlement of our Natural Resources and placed with the ordinary Revenues in the Income Account instead of into Capital Account. While we are dealing with the Deferred Subsidy Account, I might point out that the second item from the top of the page, discloses a further augmentation to Revenue Funds of \$238,630.23, so here we have three separate hand-outs from the Subsidy settlement funds to the Revenues of the Province, totalling \$3,300,000.00 in round figures.

But that is not all in this astonishing assertion that Manitoba heretofore has been paying its way. Open your Public Accounts again at pages 36 and 37 and it will be observed that,

since the "golden eggs" were no longer obtainable from the Subsidy "Windfall,"—the end of the Fiscal years plucking of the "Goose" to the tune of nearly 2 and 1/2 millions at 30th April, 1932, left the Subsidy Account in such a depleted state that, hope of bolstering the Revenue Account further, from that quarter was useless. What, then, was to be done when the next year end arrived and the Government was again faced with a Deficit? By Statutory authority, there stated, before your eyes, on page 37, Public Accounts, 30th April, last year, the Statement shows that \$500,000.00 was raised by borrowing during 1933 and put into Income (Revenue) Account, and further shows that \$730,000.00 was borrowed for the following year, 1934, and also paid in to augment the Revenue receipts.

The Free Press report of the Premier's speech under the sub-caption, "Capital Debt," says:

"The Government had borrowed no money except for relief since 1931."

Sir, there is only one thing wrong with that statement. It simply isn't true. That's all.

What does this House think of such mis-statements on the part of the honorable the First Minister? What does the public think about them?

The Premier has deceived this House and the public before, over the Seven Sisters Steal, the University Scandal, and other matters. If he keeps up he will have the distinction of adding a new verb to the language—the verb "to Bracken."

Instead of "Manitoba paying its way," as is falsely claimed what is the actual situation?

Deducting from the Revenue (Current Income and Expenses Account) these sums I have mentioned, under the Bracken administration this province has gone behind, that is, gone into the Red, a sum in excess of \$4,500,000.00. And this analysis of the figures does not take into account an accumulated Deficit which, during the year 1923, was covered by borrowing to the extent of \$1,948,160.00, and which amount should be added to the \$4,500,000.00, making a total of almost \$6,500,000.00 deficit on Income Account alone—a very sorry picture compared with the showing claimed by the Premier that Manitoba is paying its way.

A government that has an actual accumulated deficit of six

and a half millions, however much it may attempt to camouflage it and to deceive the public about it, cannot honestly be said to be paying its way.

LABOR LEGISLATION

I was very glad to notice the reference in the Speech from the Throne to the proposed "legislation intended to prevent strikes and lockouts in industry and to provide means of conciliation in matters of dispute between labor and industry." Any legislation that will improve the condition of labor will have my warmest support. I might mention that it was my intention to introduce into this Legislature a measure to confer the right to organize on employees in every branch of industry or commerce and providing for compulsory collective bargaining but, apparently, I have been forestalled in that intention, as I have received through the mail a copy of a draft act for those purposes which is to come before this house. Needless to say it will receive my strongest support.

There is nothing more necessary in the interests of labor than this right to organize, which should be conferred and protected by law. In every class of employment, not only in industry, workers should have the right to organize. In some businesses it is more than the job is worth to even suggest it. For instance, in that colossal sweatshop and commercial octopus, Eatons', how far would one get in trying to organize the employees? This right is absolutely essential for the protection of employees in every line of work.

In that connection, may I refer to what has been done in the City of Milwaukee? In that city they have an ordinance known as the Boncel Ordinance, which gives the authorities the right to close down any industrial plant or business concern which refuses to recognize the right of their employees to organize and to bargain collectively. How valuable such an ordinance would have been here in connection with the fur workers strike that has now been going on for seven or eight months.

I hold in my hand a book called "City Government," written by Daniel W. Hoan, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, who has been mayor of that city for the past twenty years. This is a book for everyone interested in good local government, and we

all ought to be, and I thoroughly recommend it to all of you. The book does not deal with mere theory. It is a record of solid and substantial, concrete, practical achievement. Under Hoan's administration Milwaukee has become generally recognized as the best governed city on the the North American Continent. Honesty and competency have supplanted corruption and graft in that city. The book was written in response to numerous requests from all over the world for information as to how things were done in Milwaukee.

They have one of the finest, best trained and most courteous, police forces in the world in Milwaukee, a force that has developed, in the words of Mayor Hoan, "a sense of social consciousness." By way of contrast, a strike was conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at a plant in Milwaukee for over a year and a half without a single arrest on the picket line. Violence in strikes in Milwaukee is practically unknown. Compare that with what has happened here in Winnipeg during the progress of the fur workers strike still going on.

Cancellation of Relief Debts

I note with pleasure the cancellation by the Government of the relief debts owing to the Province by the rural municipalities. That is a step in the right direction.

Sir, you are flanked on your right and left by two of the greatest lawgivers in the history of the world. I do not mean the living ones down on the floor of this House, but I refer to the two magnificent bronze statues—Moses on your right and Solon on your left. If this Government want to know what to do with the debts of this Province, I would suggest that they study what Moses and Solon did with debts in their day.

The Jews not only had a sabbath day, but they had a sabbath year as well. According to the Mosaic law every seventh year was a sabbatical year, during which debts were to be remitted, and slaves desiring freedom were to be granted it. They also had a Jubilee year—every fiftieth year, following seven sabbatical years, during which all Hebrew slaves were freed and all lands reverted to their former owners.

The following note as to Solon: About the year 594 B.C. after the war with Megara the people of Attica were in desperate straits. To meet this crisis, Solon, a statesman whom all the

people trusted, was made sole ruler. His first act was to cancel all debts and his second was to free all who were in slavery for debt. Solon is known in history as "the wisest of the Greeks."

Sir, I suggest that in our desperate straits to meet our financial crisis we should go back and learn what Moses and Solon did with debts and do likewise. Sooner or later, it will have to be done.

Co-operative Credit Unions

I also welcome in the Speech from the Throne the reference to the "development of credit unions on a co-operative basis." The Premier in his speech referred to Sweden. In the field of co-operative democracy through voluntary association of the people as producers and consumers Sweden has perhaps made greater advance than any other country. I would suggest to this Government that it would pay us to send a couple of experts over to Sweden to study how they do things there, so that they could come back and show us how to improve the condition of our people here.

Co-operation was one of the planks in the platform of the United Farmers of Manitoba, upon which this government was first elected to power—one of the best platforms ever put before the people of this province. But no political platform was ever more thoroughly dishonored and discarded than it was, thanks to the selection of the honorable the First Minister as the premier of that government. Through co-operation Sweden is pursuing what is called "The Middle Way," and we could well take some lessons from her.

Two Per Cent Tax

With regard to the special income tax, commonly known as the two per cent tax, I notice that the Government proposes to modify it and to lighten its burdens. Sir, that will not do. Nothing short of abolition will do.

This tax is the most vicious of taxes. It violates the recognized minimum of subsistence that should be exempt from taxation. All the parties in this House outside the Government party are pledged to its abolition. They were elected largely on that pledge, and unless they want the people to feel that they were humbugging them, these proposed changes are not enough. They

are all committed to wipe this tax out. Nothing less than the complete abolition of this tax will fulfil their election promises.

Farm Placement Scheme

I wish to make some comment on the Farm Placement Scheme. It is a most vicious arrangement, and I feel very strongly upon it. It can have no pride of ancestry, as it descends from the Statute of Laborers of Edward III.

I quote from Slessor and Baker's "Trade Union Law," a well-known and standard legal work:

"The earliest examples of labour legislation, the attempt at the enforcement of which gave rise to trade unions, are to be found in the Statute of Labourers. They commenced with ordinances under Edward III. The Ordinance of Laborers, 1349, is addressed to the Sheriff of Kent, and recites that 'Because a great part of the people, and especially of the workmen and servants, has now died in this plague, some, seeing the necessity of laws and the scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they receive excessive wages, and others preferring to beg in idleness rather than to seek their livelihood by labour. We by the unanimous counsel of our prelates and nobles, have thought fit to ordain that every man and woman of our Realm—Shall be bound to serve and receive wages as in the twentieth year of our reign or in the five or six years last preceding. A similar ordinance was issued to the clergy, and in 1349 and 1350 found expression in Acts of Parliament."

Briefly, so many people had died during the Great Plague that laborers were scarce and they naturally asked higher wages than they had been receiving. Consequently, the Statutes of Laborers was passed making it compulsory for every laborer to work for any employer who wanted him to at wages prevailing prior to the Plague. If the laborer refused he could be imprisoned, or pilloried, or have his ear cut off or endure some other punishment.

And now we have a form of compulsory farm labor at a nominal wage for our single unemployed men, the alternative to which is starvation. And what does it mean, Mr. Speaker? It means that these men are compelled by law to be "scabs" on their fellows.

And what is the effect of such vicious regulations? The

general depression of wages in all classes of work. In many instances farmers have dismissed their regular help and engaged men under this scheme at the nominal wage of \$5.00 per month plus the similar bonus to themselves.

I know how easy it is to say what ought to be done in other people's circumstances, but, in my opinion, the men who refuse work under this iniquitous scheme are not criminals, as the authorities try to make them out to be, but heroes, standing up for their own rights and the rights of labor generally and refusing to scab on their fellows. On the whole, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, King's Statute of Laborers is little, if any improvement upon Bennett's Concentration Camps. It is an attempt to apply fourteenth century methods and mentality to the problems of the twentieth century.

Minimum Wage Act

The administration of the minimum wage law is a scandal and disgrace. No law in the province is more honored in the breach than the observance. I notice from the press reports some recent activity in prosecutions under the Act, and certain cafe operators have been convicted. Perhaps that is because this House is in session. Nearly every restaurant in the city evades the law by paying their female help by cheque, cashing the cheques, and paying the employees part only of the money, or by making them sign receipts for money they do not get. I shall have some more to say about this later on.

Morality Squads

I wish now to speak upon law enforcement through what are called the morality squads. Recently there was a prosecution in the City Police Court, an assault charge against Provincial Constable Risch in which Magistrate Grahame sternly denounced the methods used by provincial liquor law enforcement officers when raiding home in search for illegal liquor. Such methods are by no means uncommon, and both morality squads, city and provincial are absolute disgraces. Both of them are composed of gangster policemen using gangster methods. And the unfortunate part of it is that you cannot get redress in our courts. It is as easy for the proverbial camel to go through the eye of a needle as it is to convict a policeman in our courts.

For example, some time ago certain Chinese premises on King St. were raided by the city morality squad on a charge of

keeping a common gaming house. The Chinamen and other occupants were taken away to the police station and locked up. Then the whole squad, eight of them, went back and with their axes, sledgehammers, crowbars and other weapons completely and deliberately wrecked the place. Enough lumber was chopped out of the interior of the building to build a summer cottage. I prosecuted the squad in the provincial police court on a charge of wilful damage and the lumber was brought into court as an exhibit. Yet Magistrate Murray acquitted and held that the officers had used no more force than was necessary in the performance of their duties. That shows how difficult it is to get a conviction against a policeman, almost impossible. And such gangster policemen are called morality squads. A fine name!

The Newton Case

The prosecution of the former Chief Constable Newton was another good case in point. He was prosecuted on a charge of assault occasioning actual bodily harm. After a protracted trial he was convicted, but only of the minor offence of common assault and fined the paltry sum of ten dollars. And he was only convicted through the fantastic stupidity of his own defence which made it impossible to acquit him. This brought to an end the record of one of the worst blackguards this city ever had. In his time he got away with almost murder.

There are a number of other matters mentioned in the Speech from the Throne and general matters upon which I would like to speak, but time does not permit, and I shall have to reserve what I have to say until some time later during the session.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

The Sphinx of Unemployment

According to an old Greek legend, there was once a monstrous creature called the Sphinx that lurked by the Spring of Dirce beyond the walls of Thebes. This creature was part lion and part eagle and had the face of a woman. It crouched on the top of a rock close by the roadside, and all who went to draw water from the spring did so at the peril of their lives. To every one that passed along the road the Sphinx proposed a riddle, with the condition that those who solved it might proceed in safety, but that those who failed should be devoured.

Finally, a young man by the name of Oedipus, with a view to freeing the country of the pest, determined to match his wits against those of the Sphinx. "Foul Fury," he cried, "tell me the riddle that I may answer it."

"At dawn it creeps on four legs; at noon it strides on two; at sunset it totters on three. What is this thing, never the same, yet not many, but one?" So she chanted, and her eyes gleamed cruel and cold.

For some time the young man pondered the question and then boldly answered: "Man is that creature. A helpless babe at the dawn of life, he crawls on his hands and feet; at noontide he walks erect in the vigor of his manhood; and at evening he supports his tottering limbs with a staff."

Thereupon, the great beast, furious because her famous riddle had been solved, hurled herself headlong from the rock and so brought to an end her own cruel existence.

Sir, we have in Manitoba, in Canada, and in the world at large, a Sphinx as monstrous and as cruel as the one in the Old Greek legend—the **Sphinx of Unemployment**—whose riddle remains unanswered. Only one country, one government, in the world has solved that riddle—Soviet Russia. Like it or not; believe it or not, Russia is the only country in the world that has solved the problem of unemployment that still confronts every other country in the world in greater or less degree.

What then is the solution? The answer is Socialism. Capitalism cannot end unemployment. Capitalism creates it. Only Socialism can and will destroy it.

In this my first speech in this Legislature, I want to do something more than criticize and to place on record a declaration of my political faith and objective. The rest of my speech will be devoted to that purpose.

The Industrial Revolution

The social readjustment known in history as the Industrial Revolution began in 1765 with the invention by Hargreaves of the Spinning-jenny and proceeded apace. The era of production by machinery was ushered in. The changes which it introduced into the economic and social life of the people are commonly known. The small producer was gradually driven off the market, the independent artisan began to be transformed into a wage

slave, while the rural population, which was also engaged in domestic production, flocked more and more into the industrial towns; women began to replace men at industrial labor, while children of five, six and seven years of age were sent to the factories. In a word, the whole order of life was turned upside down.

The conditions of hundreds of thousands of workers became truly terrible. The Parliamentary reports of 1833 and 1842 draw a picture which has scarcely any parallel in the history of the race; it almost eclipses the horrors of chattel slavery. Wages were as low as nine shillings per week; the working day extended to 16 and even 18 hours; children, from four years upwards, were ruthlessly exploited; the most insanitary conditions of labor prevailed, causing a high rate of mortality and sickness; there was a complete break-up of family life; ignorance, wild habits, drunkenness and immorality—such was the picture of the first third, and even of the first half of the nineteenth century, as portrayed over and over again in scientific works as well as contemporary novels. As Marx said, capital was indeed “oozing blood through all its pores,” and Fielden did not exaggerate in declaring that nine generations had been devoured in ninety years.

The Growth of the Productive Forces

Robert Owen, on the basis of his experience as a successful manufacturer, noted the contradiction between the new social productive labor and the private appropriation of its fruits.

“The working part of this population of 2,500 persons (in New Lanark) was daily producing as much real wealth for society as, less than half a century before, it would have required the working part of a population of 600,000 to create. I asked myself, what became of the difference between the wealth consumed by 2,500 persons and that which would have been consumed by 600,000?”

(Robert Owen, *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race*, 1849)

The basic contradiction of capitalism was thus already seen by Owen in his model factory of New Lanark from 1800 to 1829. But the criticism remained an idealist criticism. For capitalism in this period, despite all the cruelty and poverty involved in its progress, was still ascending; it was still able to organize and develop the productive forces; it was still a progressive factor,

carrying through the transformation from wasteful and uneconomic small-scale production to modern large-scale production, and thus preparing the material basis for the future society.

Let us note the gigantic growth of the productive forces during the past century.

A century ago, we have seen, it was already complained that productive power had increased twenty-seven times over in England in the previous seventy years without any corresponding improvement in the standards of the workers.

But in the century since 1835 industrial machine power multiplied a further hundred times over in England, and six hundred times over in the whole world—and has ended in mass starvation and unemployment without equal.

In the decade and a half alone between 1913 and 1928 industrial machine power in Europe increased 50 per cent, in the United States 100 per cent, and in the extra-European countries other than the United States 200 per cent.

The inclusion of all forms of power would bring the world total to something like 1,500 million horse power.

On this basis Stuart Chase in his "Machines and Men" (1929) has estimated the machine power of the world as representing the muscular power of 9,000 million men, or equivalent to five slaves for every man, woman and child of the human race. That was in 1929. To-day there would or could be the equivalent of ten slaves for every man, woman and child of the human race.

The growth of production in every direction, whether of foodstuffs, raw materials or manufactures, has greatly exceeded the growth of world population. And the increase of productive power, which has only been partially and incompletely used under capitalist conditions, with many artificial limitations and restrictions, has been in reality enormously greater than the actual growth of production.

But this gigantic increase of productive power has outstripped the capacity of capitalism to organize it.

The outcome of this gigantic increase of productive power has been world crisis, stagnation and closing down of production, mass unemployment, mass impoverishment and the lowering of standards, on a scale without parallel since the beginning of capitalism, accompanied by growing social and political disturbance and recurrent war.

The Conflict of the Productive Forces Against Existing Society

This is the world situation. The capitalist system, the capitalist class ownership of the means of production, has outlived its progressive role, and has clogged the organization of production. The world war was the beginning of the violent explosion of this conflict. Since 1914 we have entered into a new era, the era of the general crisis of capitalism and of the advance of the world socialist revolution.

The world economic crisis which opened in 1929 has brought these issues of the present stage of society, and of the basic economic contradictions of capitalism, more sharply to the general consciousness than ever before.

The general crisis of capitalism has now continued for over twenty years, only changing one form for another. The violent explosion of the world war only gave place to the still more profound struggle of revolution and counter-revolution throughout the world. The defeat of the revolution in the countries outside the Soviet Union brought no solution but only laid bare the post-war chaos of capitalism. The temporary stabilization and upward movement of the middle 'twenties proved only a false and illusory stabilization. Its only outcome was the new form of the basic contradiction expressed in the extreme world economic crisis which began in 1929 and still continues. This in its turn breaks out into new and violent explosions in the spread of Fascism and the visibly approaching second world-war. Fascism is only a further stage and development of the general crisis of capitalism.

Productivity and Unemployment

The development of the productive forces has rendered the old class-society obsolete.

Already before the end of the war the leading trust magnate in Britain, Lord Leverhulme, estimated that, if the then existing productivity were organized, one hour's work per week of all citizens would provide the necessities of life for all:

"With the means that science has already placed at our disposal, we might provide for all the wants of each of us in food, shelter and clothing by one hour's work per week for each of us from school age to dotage."

(Lord Leverhulme: Preface to Professor Spooner's
"Wealth from Waste," Routledge, 1918)

Why should this almost immeasurable increase in productive power and the possibility of universal abundance result in universal impoverishment and lowering of standards?

This is the question that confronts the whole human race. And it is obvious that the causes are not natural or technical, but social—that is, there is no social organization of production. There's the rub! There is no social organization of production.

Unemployment at a certain level has always been present in capitalism. The development of production in capitalist conditions has always displaced workers and independent producers, and thus created the industrial reserve army which was indispensable to meet the fluctuations of capitalist production and to maintain the proletariat in subjection. But this industrial reserve army was a part of the machinery of expanding capitalist production.

It is only since the war that the new phenomenon appeared of a permanent unemployed army, grudgingly kept just alive at the lowest level of subsistence, getting, "not enough to live on, but too much to die on."

Nearly a century ago Engels wrote of the necessary consequences of the inevitable breakdown of the British capitalist monopoly:

"Should English manufacturers be thus vanquished—the majority of the proletariat must become forever superfluous and has no other choice than to starve or to rebel."

(Engels: "Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844." Ch. XI)

In 1932, eighty-seven years later, the British Prime Minister spoke in the House of Commons of the prospect, even if trade should recover and prosperity return, of having to find "great bodies of men and women, perhaps even amounting to a couple of millions, to be, to all intents and purposes, in our society, superfluous scrap."

(James Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons, 22nd November, 1932)

In 1933 the leader of British Conservatism had to make the same melancholy admission:

"There is the great core of unemployment. We do not know what the numbers may be. There may be a million, a million and a half, or two million; but there will be a vast number for whom

there is but little hope of employment being found in this country. The gates of migration are closed against us. What can we do? That is a problem that has baffled the country completely up to now."

(Stanley Baldwin in the House of Commons,
27th November, 1933)

"What can we do?" This is the final answer of British capitalism, once the most powerful in the world, when faced with the problem of millions who seek only to work and live.

The question is the expression and the admission of the utter bankruptcy of capitalism.

The Alternative—Social Revolution or Destruction

The alternatives which confront society at the present stage are thus clear.

Capital can no longer utilize the productive forces. Capital can no longer utilize the full labor-power of the productive population. Monopoly capitalism is more and more visibly choking the whole organization of production, distribution and exchange.

The working masses can no longer find even the former limited conditions of existence within capitalism. Increasing millions are thrown aside as "superfluous." The standards of all are successively attacked. And the worsening of standards is accompanied by a speeding-up and intensification of labor of the dwindling numbers employed.

The spreading knowledge and understanding of the scientific and technical possibilities of unlimited production and abundance for all mocks and torments society, creating on the one side, among a growing section of the dispossessed, revolutionary anger and determination; creating on the other side, among the doomed possessing classes, growing desperation and recklessness, the revolt against mechanical technique, and readiness to embark on even more frenzied courses of violence and destruction.

Two alternatives, and only two, confront society to-day.

One is to throttle the development of the productive forces in order to save class-society; to destroy material wealth; to destroy millions of "superfluous" human beings in the slow rot of starvation and/or the quicker processes of war; to crush down the working class movement with ruthless violence; to arrest

the development of science and culture and education and technique; to revert to more primitive forms of societies, and thus to save for a while the rule of the possessing classes at the cost of a reversion to barbarism and social decay. **This is the path of Fascism.**

The other is to organize the productive forces for the whole society by abolishing the class ownership of the means of production, and building up the classless society which can alone utilize and organize the modern productive forces. **This is the path of Socialism.**

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Socialism, like everything else that is vital, is rather a tendency than a strictly definable body of doctrine. A definition of Socialism is sure to include some views which many would regard as not Socialistic, and to exclude others which claim to be included. But I think we shall come nearest to the essence of Socialism by defining it as the advocacy of the communal ownership of the means of life.

Capitalism vs Socialism

Capitalism stands for the private ownership of the means of life; Socialism for their public ownership. Capitalism stands for special privileges for the few; Socialism for equal rights for all. Capitalism emphasizes property rights and class justice; Socialism human rights and social justice.

The two following quotations on the title page of "The Theory and Practice of Socialism" by John Strachey, recently published, sum up my political faith and objective:

"Emancipation of Labor is the only worthy object of political warfare—that those who till the soil shall be its first masters, that those who raise food shall be its first partakers, that those who build mansions shall live in them—."

—George Julian Harney.

"Outside of Socialism there is no salvation for mankind from war, hunger and the further destruction of millions and millions of human beings."

—Lenin

CONCLUSION

The things I have said will please some and displease others. Some there are who consider me a rebel; others, a renegade; and still others approve of my views. But, Sir, I have long ceased to worry over what people say or think of me, as long as I keep on good terms with myself and am true to myself.

"This above all: to thine own self be true,

And it must follow, as the night the day,

Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Shakespeare, Hamlet, ActI, Sc. 3

In conclusion, may I quote from a passage in my address to that foolish commission that was fabricated to encompass my undoing?

"The learned counsel for this commission has characterized me as an official outlaw, a judicial rebel, undermining constituted authority, and bringing the administration of justice into contempt and disrepute. The charge is as absurd as it is unfounded. But in a certain sense he is right in calling me a rebel. He is wrong in the sense he means it. I am a rebel in a sense that he and those whom he typifies and represents do not understand and apparently are incapable of understanding. They represent that type of mentality that has rendered the progress of this world so painful and so slow. I am an avowed rebel, in the sense that Emerson used the following words:

"Whoso would be a man must be a non-conformist. He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness.

"Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind."

THE END

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